

Message Text

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O R 132028Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9013
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 09908

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV WB GE UR GW US UK FR
SUBJECT: GDR THREATS AGAINST PLANNED CDU MEETING IN
BERLIN

REFS: (A) STATE 134313; (B) USBER 1583;
(C) BONN 9743

BEGIN SUMMARY. WITH MIXED INDICATORS COMING IN AS TO
THE LIKELIHOOD OF GDR INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT TO
BERLIN ON JUNE 16, THE BONN GROUP HAS CONTINUED ITS
DISCUSSION OF CONTINGENCY MEASURES. AGREEMENT IN
PRINCIPLE NOW EXISTS ON THE TEXT OF AN ALLIED PROTEST TO
THE SOVIETS, ALTHOUGH LONDON OBJECTS TO TWO PASSAGES IN
THE AD REF BONN GROUP DRAFT. BOTH THE BRITISH AND THE
FRENCH PREFER TO CONSIDER THE LEVEL OF DELIVERY OF THE
PROTEST AFTER AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF
ACTUAL EVENTS ON JUNE 16. IN THE LIGHT OF UNCHANGED
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ALLIED INSTRUCTIONS, THE FRG HAS NOT PURSUED ITS REQUEST
FOR AN ADVANCE ALLIED WARNING TO THE SOVIETS, ALTHOUGH
FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER MAY RAISE THE MATTER WITH THE
SOVIETS DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW THIS WEEK. THE
BONN GROUP HAS REACHED AD REF AGREEMENT ON A CONTINGENCY
ALLIED PRESS STATEMENT. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF
THE CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET AND GDR OFFICIALS

1. AT THE JUNE 13 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE FRENCH REP (GAUSSOT) PROVIDED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FRG REP A CONDENSED BRIEFING ON THE JUNE 9 DISCUSSION IN BERLIN AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN BY FRENCH MINISTER LANDY FOR SOVIET MINISTER KHOTULEV (REPORTED MORE FULLY IN REF B). GAUSSOT'S BRIEFING WAS LIMITED TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- KHOTULEV'S STATEMENT THAT A DEMONSTRATION IN WEST BERLIN DIRECTED AGAINST THE GDR AND THE USSR WOULD BE A VIOLATION OF THE QA;

-- THE FRENCH STATEMENT THAT THE ALLIES WERE NOT GOING TO PROHIBIT THE DEMONSTRATION;

-- KHOTULEV'S STATEMENT THAT THE ALLIES HAD BEEN WARNED AND THAT THE SOVIETS SUPPORTED THE GDR ENTIRELY; AND

-- THE FRENCH COMMENT THAT THE SOVIET TONE WAS FIRM BUT NOT THREATENING AND THAT THERE WAS NO REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE COUNTERMEASURES.

2. FRG REP (LUECKING) ASKED WHETHER LANDY HAD RECEIVED THE REPORT OF THE PREVIOUS DAY'S BONN GROUP MEETING (REF C), WITH ITS RECOMMENDATION FOR A LINE TO BE TAKEN IF THE SOVIETS RAISED THE JUNE 16 MEETING WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ALLIES. GAUSSOT RESPONDED THAT LANDY ALMOST CERTAINLY HAD RECEIVED THE TELEGRAM BUT POINTED OUT THAT HE OF COURSE HAD NOT HAD TIME TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS. (COMMENT: CONTRARY TO OUR EXPECTATIONS, LUECKING DID NOT EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT THAT LANDY HAD NOT WARNED THE SOVIETS AGAINST INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT, NOR DID HE REOPEN THE QUESTION OF A PREEMPTIVE ALLIED DEMARCHE IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW INITIATED A DIALOGUE WITH THE ALLIES ON THE SUBJECT. END COMMENT).

3. LUECKING DISTRIBUTED A REPORT FROM FRG PERMREP GAUS IN EAST BERLIN, REPORTING ON A CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH SEIDEL OF THE GDR FOREIGN MINISTRY ON JUNE 6 (TEXT REPORTED SEPTEL). ACCORDING TO GAUS' REPORT, SEIDEL WAS TRYING TO KEEP THE SITUATION CALM, SUGGESTING

THAT THE GDR MIGHT NOT TAKE ACTIONS AGAINST PARTICIPANTS
IN THE RALLY UNLESS THEIR CONDUCT ON THE TRANSIT
ROUTES WAS PROVOCATIVE.

4. KOHL, THE HEAD OF THE GDR PERMANENT REPRESENTATION

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IN BONN, HAD ON THE OTHER HAND TAKEN A HARDER LINE IN
A DISCUSSION EARLIER ON JUNE 13 WITH RUHFUS OF THE
CHANCELLERY. ACCORDING TO LUECKING, KOHL HAD BEEN
UNABLE TO SEE WISCHNEWSKI ON JUNE 10 AS REQUESTED, AND
RUHFUS THUS CALLED KOHL IN ON JUNE 13 AND SPOKE FROM THE
PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXT (REF C, PARA 2). KOHL
RESPONDED WITH SOME TOUGH LANGUAGE ALONG THE LINES THAT
THE QA WAS ONE OF THE PRECONDITIONS FOR DETENTE, THAT
ANYTHING WHICH HAPPENED IN BERLIN MUST BE JUDGED FROM
THE STANDPOINT OF ITS EFFECT ON DETENTE, THAT THE GDR
WAS ENTITLED TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES WHEN DETENTE
WAS IN DANGER IN BERLIN, AND THAT THE GDR WOULD HOLD THE
FRG RESPONSIBLE FOR ANYTHING THAT MIGHT HAPPEN IN
CONNECTION WITH THE JUNE 16-17 MEETING. LUECKING

COMMENTED THAT HE WAS STILL PERSONALLY OF THE VIEW THAT
THE GDR DOES INTEND TO TAKE ACTIONS TO INTERFERE WITH
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TRANSIT TRAFFIC.

5. ACCORDING TO LUECKING, GENSCHER HAS BEEN BRIEFED
TO RAISE THE ISSUE WITH THE SOVIETS DURING HIS
DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW THIS WEEK, REFERRING TO THE
ALLIED STATEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE STERNFAHRT
LAST YEAR AND MAKING THE POINT THAT TRANSIT TO BERLIN IS
OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE AND THAT THE CONFIDENCE OF THE
BERLIN PUBLIC IN DETENTE WOULD BE AFFECTED IF THERE
WERE INCIDENTS ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES.

ALLIED INSTRUCTIONS ON PROTEST TO SOVIETS

6. THE US REP REPORTED THE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS
ON THE EARLIER BONN GROUP RECOMMENDATIONS (REF A). IN
COMMENTING ON THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION ON A PREEMPTIVE
ALLIED DEMARCHE, LUECKING STATED THAT HE PERSONALLY
UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM WITH ALLIED CREDIBILITY INVOLVED
IN SUCH AN ADVANCE WARNING AND HAD EXPLAINED IT TO HIS
SUPERIORS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT
THE QUESTION OF COUNTERMEASURES THAT THE FRG MIGHT
TAKE BE STUDIED BY A SPECIAL GROUP WITHIN THE FRG.
IT WAS NOT ONLY THE ALLIES BUT ALSO THE OPPOSITION WHO
WERE CALLING UPON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO TAKE ACTIONS
AGAINST THE GDR.

7. THE UK REP (EYERS) REPORTED THE FOLLOWING
INSTRUCTIONS:

-- THE FCO BELIEVED IT WOULD BE WRONG FOR THE
ALLIES TO SPEAK TO THE SOVIETS BEFORE JUNE 16, UNLESS
THE SOVIETS RAISED THE ISSUE SUBSTANTIVELY WITH THE
ALLIES. IF THEY DO, ALLIED OFFICIALS SHOULD
DRAW FROM THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT
CONTINGENCY PROTEST (PARA 11, REF C).

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-- AS FOR THE TEXT OF THE CONTINGENCY PROTEST,
LONDON CONSIDERS THE BONN GROUP DRAFT (PARA 11, REF C)
TO BE ON THE RIGHT LINES BUT WOULD WISH TO SEE WHAT
HAPPENS BEFORE AUTHORIZING ITS USE. LONDON ALSO WOULD

LIKE TWO DELETIONS FROM THE BONN GROUP DRAFT.
BELIEVING THAT IT IS BETTER TO AVOID SPECULATION AS TO
GDR MOTIVES, HOWEVER STRONG THE EVIDENCE, AND THAT
INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT TRAFFIC IS ILLEGAL QUITE
INDEPENDENT OF ANY REASONS WHICH THE GDR MIGHT PUT
FORWARD, LONDON REQUESTS DELETION OF THE LAST SENTENCE
OF PARAGRAPH ONE OF THE TEXT AND OF THE FINAL PORTION
OF THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA TWO OF THE TEXT ("IN AN
APPARENT ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS CONCERNING
EVENTS TAKING PLACE INSIDE THE WESTERN SECTORS").

-- LONDON WILL WISH TO CONSIDER THE PLACE AND
LEVEL OF DELIVERY AFTER IT IS KNOWN WHAT TRANSPIRES
ON JUNE 16.

8. LUECKING ARGUED FOR RETENTION OF THE PASSAGES
LONDON WISHED TO DELETE, POINTING OUT THAT THEY WERE
CRUCIAL TO THE ALLIED PROTEST. HE NOTED THAT THE FACTS
THIS YEAR WERE DIFFERENT THAN IN THE CASE OF THE
AUGUST 1976 STERNFAHRT. AT THAT TIME WE WERE TO SOME
EXTENT SPECULATING ON GDR MOTIVES; THIS TIME WE HAD HAD
CLEAR STATEMENTS OF THEIR INTENT AND REASONING. THE
US REP ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH LUECKING'S REMARKS,

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WHICH EYERS SAID HE WOULD REPORT BACK TO LONDON.

9. GAUSSOT HAD RECEIVED NO WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS BUT WAS INFORMED BY PHONE DURING THE COURSE OF THE MEETING THAT A TELEGRAM WAS BEING PREPARED IN PARIS WHICH WAS EXPECTED TO CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- PARIS AGREES TO THE BONN GROUP DRAFT PROTEST, SUBJECT TO REVISION IN THE LIGHT OF EVENTS.

-- THE LEVEL OF DELIVERY IS TO BE DECIDED IN THE LIGHT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

-- THERE IS NO CHANGE IN THE FRENCH VIEW THAT A PRIOR ALLIED WARNING TO THE SOVIETS WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE.

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-- PARIS AGREES THAT THE BONN GROUP SHOULD PREPARE A CONTINGENCY PRESS STATEMENT BUT WOULD WISH TO REEXAMINE THE TEXT BEFORE IT IS ISSUED.

CONTINGENCY ALLIED STATEMENT AND PRESS GUIDANCE

10. THE BONN GROUP THEN DISCUSSED PRESS HANDLING AND REACHED AD REF AGREEMENT ON A CONTINGENCY ALLIED PRESS STATEMENT. IN THE EXPECTATION THAT SERIOUS INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT DURING THE DAY OF JUNE 16 WOULD RESULT IN HEAVY PRESS PLAY AND NUMEROUS INQUIRIES AS TO WHAT THE ALLIES WERE DOING ABOUT IT, IT WAS AGREED THAT THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE A NEED FOR AN ALLIED STATEMENT NO LATER THAN FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 17. THE FACT THAT THERE IS NO FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN BONN AT THE MOMENT MAKES IT UNLIKELY THAT WE WOULD SUCCEED THIS TIME IN GETTING AGREEMENT TO ISSUING A STATEMENT ON AMBASSADORIAL AUTHORITY. GAUSSOT HOPES, HOWEVER, THAT, IF PARIS APPROVES THE GENERAL LINE OF THE AD REF TEXT, HE WOULD IF NECESSARY BE ABLE TO GET ORAL AUTHORITY TO GO AHEAD DURING THE COURSE OF THE DAY ON JUNE 17.

11. FOLLOWING IS THE AD REF TEXT OF THE CONTINGENCY PRESS STATEMENT, WHICH COULD BE ISSUED BY ALLIED EMBASSIES IN BONN AFTER ENOUGH EVIDENCE WAS IN TO SHOW THAT THERE HAD BEEN SERIOUS INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT, BUT PRESUMABLY BEFORE AN ALLIED PROTEST HAD BEEN

DELIVERED TO THE SOVIETS:

BEGIN TEXT

THE EMBASSIES OF FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES IN BONN HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THERE WERE PROLONGED DELAYS IN THE PROCESSING OF CIVILIAN TRAFFIC ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES TO BERLIN ON JUNE 16 AND
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THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF CIVILIAN TRAVELLERS WERE REFUSED PERMISSION TO USE THE TRANSIT ROUTES. THE ALLIES, LIKE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THIS OBSTRUCTION TO UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO BERLIN. THEY HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED FOR AN IMMEDIATE MEETING OF THE COMMISSION ESTABLISHED UNDER THE INNER-GERMAN TRANSIT AGREEMENT OF DECEMBER 17, 1971.

IN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WHICH WAS CONCLUDED IN BERLIN ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1971, BY FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION DECLARED THAT TRANSIT TRAFFIC THROUGH THE TERRITORY OF THE GDR OF CIVILIAN PERSONS AND GOODS BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FRG WILL BE UNIMPEDED. DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING THIS CIVILIAN TRAFFIC WERE AGREED IN THE INNER-GERMAN TRANSIT AGREEMENT, WHICH IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND IS CITED AS SUCH IN THE FINAL QUADRIPARTITE PROTOCOL OF JUNE 3, 1972.

THE ALLIES ARE STAYING IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHAT FURTHER STEPS ARE WARRANTED.

END TEXT

12. AD REF AGREEMENT WAS ALSO REACHED ON THE

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FOLLOWING CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE FOR RESPONDING TO
FOLLOW-UP QUERIES FROM THE PRESS:

BEGIN TEXT

1. Q: DOES THE ALLIED STATEMENT MEAN THAT THERE
WAS A VIOLATION OF THE QA?

A: IF FULL INVESTIGATION CONFIRMS INITIAL
REPORTS OF WHAT OCCURRED, IT WOULD BE
DIFFICULT TO AVOID THE CONCLUSION THAT
THERE HAS BEEN A VIOLATION OF THE
PROVISIONS OF THE QA CONCERNING UNIMPEDED
CIVILIAN TRANSIT TO BERLIN.

2. Q: WHAT DO THE ALLIES INTEND TO DO?

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A: THIS IS A MATTER FOR DECISION BY THE THREE
ALLIED GOVERNMENTS, IN CONSULTATION WITH
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AFTER ALL THE
FACTS ARE KNOWN.

3. Q: ARE YOU PROTESTING TO THE SOVIETS?

A: THIS ALSO IS A MATTER FOR DECISION AFTER ALL THE FACTS ARE KNOWN. I WOULD NOT RULE OUT SUCH A PROTEST. OBSERVANCE OF THE SOVIET ASSURANCES ON UNIMPEDED TRANSIT TO AND FROM BERLIN IS CRUCIAL FOR THE ELIMINATION OF TENSION AND THE PREVENTION OF COMPLICATIONS IN THE BERLIN AREA.

4. Q: THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR HAVE CLAIMED THAT THE DEMONSTRATION PLANNED IN WEST BERLIN FOR JUNE 16 AND 17 WAS A PROVOCATION WHICH JUSTIFIED THE REFUSAL OF TRANSIT TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEMONSTRATION. WHAT IS YOUR COMMENT ON THAT CLAIM?

A: THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION IN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT FOR THE GDR OR THE SOVIET UNION TO IMPEDE TRANSIT ON THE BASIS OF EVENTS OCCURRING IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN. FURTHERMORE, THE GDR HAS NO COMPETENCE TO DETERMINE THE PROPRIETY OF ACTIVITIES OR EVENTS IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

END TEXT

13. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF THE ABOVE
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CONTINGENCY PRESS STATEMENT AND PRESS GUIDANCE, WITH DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY TO MAKE NECESSARY CHANGES IN THE OPENING PARAGRAPH ON BASIS OF EVENTS AND, IF NECESSARY, TO ISSUE THE STATEMENT IN BONN WITHOUT FURTHER REFERENCE TO THE DEPARTMENT.
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